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ABSTRACT

Factors that affect interracial relationships of white faculty at predominantly black colleges are considered. Based on theoretical writings and research, five dynamics influencing black-white interaction are identified: prejudice and stereotyping, dominance by whites, racial role-playing, social acceptance/social distance, and value differences. Factors at the individual, small group, college, and community levels that influence white faculty members' adjustment within the black college are also addressed. Stereotyped perceptions of white faculty at black colleges as academic rejects who are there for a paycheck or as paternalistic "know it alls" can impede effective interpersonal functioning. The social environment of black colleges, where blacks rather than whites are dominant, can lead to ambiguities and subtle conflicts between the two races. The phenomenon of racial role-playing refers to pretense and a lack of sincerity in relating to those of another race. Some research has concluded that black students distance themselves more from white instructors than black instructors. Value-related concerns include the influence of social class, differing perspectives on race consciousness, and value conflicts that may be experienced by white faculty when grading black students. (SW)

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# DYNAMICS OF INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVING WHITE FACULTY IN BLACK COLLEGES: REVIEW, SYSTEMATIZATION, AND DIRECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

This paper delineates numerous factors which impact upon the interracial relationships of white faculty in predominantly black colleges. Through a synthesis of theoretical writings and research findings relating to interpersonal aspects of interracial interaction, five dynamics influencing black-white interaction are identified: prejudice and stereotyping, dominance by whites, racial role-playing, social acceptance/social distance, and value differences. Subsequently, these dynamics are explored in relation to the role of the white academician in the black college setting. In addition, a variety of factors at the individual, small group, college, and community levels are delineated in relation to their influence on white faculty's adjustment within the black college; and the implications are guidelines for future study of cross-racial interaction within a predominantly black setting are discussed.

The study of minority-dominant relations has mushroomed in America since the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, yet few theoretical advances have been made in the understanding of the dynamics of interracial relationships, particularly at the interpersonal level (Lyman, 1972:23). Sociological research on race relations has concentrated largely on interaction at the group, organizational, or community levels and on patterns of assimilation of minority groups. Many studies have focused on prejudice and discrimination as reflected by racial stereotypes or certain behavioral patterns which avoid interracial interaction. Consequently barriers to effective interracial interaction often have been attributed rather simplistically to prejudice and discrimination.

This article seeks to synthesize the literature relating to the interpersonal dynamics of black-white interaction, particularly in educational settings. The overall purpose of this review is to explore the adjustment of white faculty in predominantly black colleges and to consider the various factors which impact upon their functioning in this setting. This frame of reference of a white minority within a black setting is somewhat different from the historical focus on the study of interracial interaction. As Standley (1978:19) notes, "Traditionally, black-white relations were seen against a backdrop of the white situation, that is, the established context for analyzing human relationships has been the white social context." Due to the voluminous body of literature on minority-dominant relations, this review focuses primarily on three areas of content specific to its purpose. First, the dynamics or interpersonal aspects of black-white interaction are delineated and discussed. Second, the dynamics of black-white interaction at black colleges are considered. Third, methodological and substantive recommendations regarding the study of interracial interaction that occurs within black colleges and other settings that primarily involve black participants are offered.

## INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS OF BLACK-WHITE RELATIONSHIPS

Historically there are numerous dynamics which have been attributed to black-white relationships. Current relationships between blacks and whites may be characterized by both overt and covert counterparts of these traditional dynamics. Some of these include: prejudice and stereotyping, dominance of the interaction by whites, racial role-playing, a lack of social acceptance on the part of both whites and blacks resulting in the imposition of social distance between them, and a real or perceived value conflict between blacks and whites.

### Prejudice and Stereotyping

As previously stated, social-psychological research in the area of minority dominant relations has focused largely on racism in the form of prejudice. A recent text on this subject defines prejudice according to the traditional description by Gordon Allport: "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed." (Feagin, 1978:7) Prejudice is viewed sociologically as having cognitive (inaccurate beliefs), affective (negative feelings), and behaviorial components (discrimination). The cognitive aspect also has been termed a stereotype, defined as "an overgeneralization associated with a racial or ethnic category that goes beyond existing evidence." (Feagin, 1978:2) According to Davis, (1978) stereotypes usually contain elements of truth which are distorted or overgeneralized. Once a stereotype is learned, it results in selective perception so that it is further reinforced and contradictory evidence is ignored.

A study of stereotyping relating to whites, blacks, and Japanese and stereotypes of their own and other races addressed the fact that racial stereotypes are social norms which change in relation to social trends. According to this research, whites currently are stereotyped must frequently as materialistic and pleasure loving; and blacks, as musical, aggressive, and straight-forward (Maykovich, 1972).

More recent naturalistic and clinical studies have examined the complexity of the study of interracial interaction to expand the concept of racism beyond hostile or inaccurate stereotyping. In his book, Portraits of White Racism, Wellman (1977) indicates that defining racist attitudes as prejudice limits sociological analysis and that many Americans' attitudes about race do not reflect hostility nor are they always misjudgments, yet they justify arrangements that in effect maintain an unequitable system.

The effects of prejudice on interaction are self-evident, such as the inability to individualize those in a racial category and blanket discomfort or lack of acceptance in relating to individuals of this racial group. Many other dynamics described in this article are resultant consequences of prejudicial stereotyping including dominance by whites, social distance, and racial role-playing.

Dominance by Whites

In relation to this dynamic, the dominance of blacks by whites is an obvious element of the historical character of minority-dominant relations in this country. As social changes occur and prescribed status differentials between white and black are lessened, the nature of this dominance seems to have become more subtle. To some extent, a continuation of this pattern in black-white relationships would result from the lack of experience of many whites and black individuals in equal-status relationships with each other. As a result, the white individual expects to retain the predominant role--to stay in control and determine the character and boundaries of the relationship.

In recent empirical research, there is evidence that whites tend to dominate in social situations with blacks, even in social relationships where blacks have designated whites as significant others. Cohen and Roper (1972), labeled this tendency "interracial interaction disability." As a result of laboratory experiments they concluded that addressing both black and white expectations prior to the interracial interaction was necessary to attain real equal-status interaction.

Racial Role-playing

Another historical interactional pattern in black-white relationships is colloquially reffered to as "Uncle Tomism" and in characterized by obsequious behavior on the part of blacks in response to dependence and powerlessness experienced in relation to whites. In their analysis of the "Uncle Tom" role, McCarthy and Yancey (1971:651-3) write:

> At times such a role was necessary for physical survival, and it normally produced more of what little could be gained from the white oppressor. But this behavior was for white consumption only. Among other Negroes another 'truer' role was manifest . . . some such dissociation occurs in the acting out of many social roles, but the intesity of racial role-playing renders this type of dissociation especially dangerous.

Although present day black-white interaction may contain residues of the Jim Crow racial etiquette imposed on blacks by white dominace, there are other manifestations of racial role-playing which characterize their interaction. One example of this type of role-playing behavior is evident in a noted black author's description of certain black college students' behavior. In an attempt to establish and demonstrate their "blackness", they adopt certain dress, speech, and actions characteristic of the black lower class, where, according to Napper (1973), distinctively "black" characteristics find their greatest expression. Such "black norms" are acted out differently in the presence of blacks than in the presence of whites. Of course, this racial role-playing may be characteristic of the behavior of whites as well as blacks.

Social Acceptance/ Social Distance

A crucial aspect affecting interracial interaction is the concept of social acceptance on the part of both parties and the degree of social distance maintained in the relationship. Social distance is at a maximum in situations in

which persons play conventional roles, maintain politeness rather than disclosing personal reactions, or feel inhibited from doing what they actually want to do. Sociological research indicates that neither physical proximity nor frequency of contact necessarily reduces social distance. Intimate contact between persons should however lead to a reduction of social distance if both parties are able to relax their reserve and become more genuine in their interchange. (Shibutani, Tamotsu, and Kwan, 1965).

Sociological research had addressed the "contact hypothesis" which states that increasing contact between races reduces prejudicial attitudes and social distance. Several empirical studies concluded that increased contact with persons of another race is as likely to confirm one's prejudices (or even create new ones) as it is to change them. (Foley, 1977; Poskosil, 1977). Further research in relation to the contact hypothesis has concluded that social contact between persons of equal status reduces prejudice. A study by Robinson and Preston, (1976) supported this conclusion for whites but found that such contact did not lessen black's prejudices toward whites. They state that a very intimate relationship on a personal level may be required in order for blacks to feel that whites are trustworthy, in that black stereotypes about whites are less tangible and less easily refuted in a contact situation.

In many black-white relationships, many aspects of social distance must be overcome to facilitate intimate interaction. Among these for blacks are feelings of alienation or mistrust of whites, and for whites, a fear of being considered racist by blacks or having to confront their own prejudices personally. Both blacks and whites must contend with lack of familiarity of a cross-racial perspective, discomfort with going against conventional social norms in some locations, and a certain "willingness to risk" characteristic of unfamiliar social situations.

An element which confuses the understanding of social acceptance is the fact that people may be accepted on the basis of certain identities or on certain

levels and not others. This is true in any type of relationship regardless of the existence of a racial factor. For example, one study of the first black pledge to be accepted into a white fraternity stated that blacks may be accepted in terms of different identities--"1) as a Black, 2) as a Black who has 'made himself white,' 3) as a Black to whom the majority member has accommodated himself, or 4) as an individual apart from his Black identity." (Schmitt, Fox, and Lindberg, 1982). Social acceptance is not a global, uni-dimensional phenomenon and further conceptual differentiation needs to address the various elements of this concept.

Sociological research relating to blacks' feelings of alienation from or mistrust of whites reveals certain trends in the complexities of black racial attitudes in response to societal events and changes. Unlike the trend of declining "traditional white prejudice" since the 1940's, the authors of an in-depth analysis of black racial attitudes from 1968-1971 describe a trend toward greater alienation from white society (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974:125). However, a later follow-up to this study in 1976 indicated that black alienation had dropped from the relatively high levels of 1971 back to the immediate 1968 post-riot levels. These findings revealed a shift from blacks perceiving whites as hostile to perceiving them as not caring or apathetic (49%) and reflected an increase in the cultural aspect of black consciousness (Farley, Hatchett, and Schuman, 1979). Another attribute of black alienation reflected by research is that is is highest among the young and college-educated (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974:58-74). Based on a study of black students in a white university, Shingles (1979) concluded that liberal arts education and dissatisfaction with the university contributed to black students' alienation from white society. Although the sources of dissatisfaction are more general than racial, the resulting sense of powerlessness contributes to racial alienation.

Value Differences

Value dimensions and their impact on interaction are very difficult to study

due to the fact that values are not readily discernible. Many inferences and assumptions relating to values underlying certain situations and behaviors may be false in reality. Value dimensions in black-white relationships may be viewed from the perspective of ethnic, cultural differences including class differences or ideological, political differences.

According to an analysis of the impact of cultural differences by Shibutani and Kwan, one of the most important cultural aspects of a particular group is its vocabulary of motives, that is a set of intentions regarding as the natural ground of conduct and relating to reasons or motivations for various actions. Hence, persons who do not share the same vocabulary of motives frequently may misunderstand each other. Some other cultural differences which necessitate understanding in interactions of persons from different cultural backgrounds include value conceptions related to life goals; communication variables such as style of relating, slang, accent and gestures; and customs or rituals. (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965).

Because all people are ethnocentric in that they view situations from the perspective of their own cultural system, the critical condition for effective cross-racial interaction is the ability to develop an understanding and appreciation of the other's perspective (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965). This is often a difficult thing to do and may involve a trial and error process. Also, individuals differ greatly in their ability to develop self-awareness, to deal with conflicts which may be only intuitively felt, to correctly identify the real elements involved, and to assume a relativistic stance.

Many black individuals feel that whites cannot understand the black experience and perspective. One black author cites three reasons for this condition: whites have been socialized to believe in the inferiority of blacks; they have not had sustained contacts with blacks; and they view the black experience through the eyes of a white historical and cultural perspective (Thompson, 1973:126-8). While it is futile to debate whether any white individual can understand the black

perspective, it is apparent that developing this understanding requires formal and informal education and experiences which whites may lack.

The existence of attitudinal conflicts between blacks and whites has been characterized politically as "race politics," presuming a white and black point of view on major issues. A recent examination of this phenomenon concluded that the national media perpetuate ideas of racial division and black homogeneity of opinion. Although there are significant differences in the views of samples of blacks and whites on most surveys measuring attitudes about racial issues, the majority of both groups appear to agree (Bolce & Gray, 1979). To some extent whether the differences are real or perceived is not of the most critical importance. As long as persons believe that major differences exist between them, these assumptions will influence their interaction to some degree.

Perhaps the most significant element of value differences between some whites and blacks is an ideological one stemming from different perspectives on race consciousness. Through race consciousness members of a race become indentified as an historic group with a common cause and sense of solidarity (Pitts, 1974). Another characteristic of consciousness of kind is that outsiders are viewed as basically different and therefore are to be treated differently (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965). Racial consciousness for most American blacks is a salient aspect of their identity particularly in a setting such as the black college. The increase in the cultural aspect of black consciousness is associated with the intensified process of ethnogenesis of black Americans over recent decades. Through ethnogenesis, the boundaries between black and white have evolved from a primarily exclusive nature involving social barriers imposed by whites to include more inclusive boundaries characterizing ethnic minorities who cultivate a distinctive cultural system and set themselves apart from the majority. Hence, boundaries between black and white involve forces from both social units (Bantam, 1977:136-55).

In contrast to the strong racial consciousness or identification of many black Americans, the white liberal ideology has been described as being uncomfortable with the consciousness of color. In describing the reactions of liberal white professors to black students movements of the late 60's, Blauner cites this value conflict between universalism and particularism. The univeral ethos is color blind in that color and ethnicity should be irrelevant and special admissions programs for minorities are seen in this light as racist. According to Blauner, (1973), the presence of black students was disquieting for many white professors who had identified with blacks and their causes from a distance but we offended by their manner and ideas. The professors began to recognize "prejudices" within themselves, which only served to intensify their discomfort.

## BLACK-WHITE INTERACTION AT BLACK COLLEGES

Although there is a body of literature relating to cross-racial relationships and attitudes in the field of education, very little of it is specifically applicable to the role of a white academician in a black college. As previously noted, the traditional context for the study of black-white relations has viewed blacks as a minority within a dominant white society. This assumption is at the heart of nearly all articles which pertain to cross racial relationships in education, sociology, and other fields. Dalton (unpublished) found, for example, that white students differentiate between black and white instructors, allowing black instructors closer than white instructors. Her study was conducted at the University of Houston, a predominantly white institution. In other words, racial relationships and attendant feelings are analyzed from a white-in-charge, black-as-subordinat perspective.

The black college offers a unique situation for research in race relations for its social climate is exactly reverse: black-in-charge, white-as-subordinate. This social structure is probably unique in the United States; hence it

is not surprising that so few articles are to be found on the subject. There are a few first-person accounts: (Jones, 1973; Sloan, 1977) however, systematic research on the subject of white faculty in black institutions is practically nonexistent.

Prejudice and Stereotyping

In relation to the dynamics of black-white relationships discussed previously, it is anticipated that each of these elements may influence the interaction of white faculty and black students, colleagues, or administrators. Both blacks and whites would bring to their interaction the prejudices and stereotypes they had internalized through previous experiences, which would inevitably impact on their relationships. There are numerous stereotypes of white faculty contained in the writings about black colleges. For example, Thompson (1973:130-4) described four distinct types of white teachers in black colleges: the dedicated professional, the missionary type (including a sub-type who is guilt-motivated), the young white scholar, and the academic reject. Some of these same stereotypes also are included in Warnat's (1976) analysis of four roles commonly assumed by white faculty on black campuses: the Moron, Martyr, Messiah, and Marginal Man.

Some individual black faculty or administrators may perceive white faculty in general as academic rejects who are only there for a paycheck or as "know it alls" who are paternalistic in their efforts to enlighten the less fortunate. These stereotypical perceptions not only would influence their views of an behavior toward individual white faculty, but they also would be conveyed to white faculty and color white faculty's perceptions and experiences. Likewise, individual white faculty may retain a variety of stereotypical perceptions of blacks or black colleges which become barriers to their effective functioning.

Dominance by Whites

The dynamic of dominance by whites would result in an interesting phenomenon in the interaction of blacks and whites in this setting. Although some black

colleges were dominated historically by whites from their inception, practically all black colleges today are controlled by blacks. Hence, whites would be in a subordinate status overall, except possibly in their role with students. A further complicating factor is the fact that the black college is itself a minority system within a dominant white society, so that racial relation in the linkages of the college and its environment would impact on interracial relationships within the college. The transposition of previously learned patterns of relating for both black and white individuals to a contrary social environment would most likely result in ambiguities and subtle conflicts. Unfortunately, no research was found which addressed either of the above variables in relation to black colleges.

Racial Role-playing

The phenomenon of racial role-playing, characterized by pretense and a lack of sincerity in relating to individuals of another race, has received no attention in actual research. Some authors have referred to roles which white faculty assume in black colleges. While these role descriptions contain some common stereotypes of white faculty in black colleges, they also embody some behaviors of white faculty which are performed only in relation to blacks and not whites. The most thorough role analysis of white faculty in black colleges is Warnat's article mentioned above.

Warnat describes the moron role as stemming from others' conceptions that the white faculty person must be incompetent and unable to find a job in a white college. In his moron role, he functions as faculty scapegoat and underling. The martyr role centers around white faculty's need to expiate racial guilt by becoming a kind of zealous missionary, content to do the drudge work and accept whatever comes their way. A third type of white faculty functions as a self-designated Messiah who perceives black colleagues as well-meaning but naive and

in need of direction. According to Warnat, this element of some white faculty more than any other fosters feelings of mistrust, alienation, and hostility among black colleauges. The white faculty person is also viewed from the role of a marginal man--one who lives in two different and antagonisitic cultures, thus being somewhat alien in both of them. The Marginal Man experiences a great deal of cognitive dissonance but derives personal satisfaction from the ability to survive in an unfamiliar climate and to become a productive member of the black college community. Warnat (1976) stresses the need to further explore the roles of white faculty due to their increasing number in black colleges and the need to optimize their contributions.

Social Distance

The variables of social acceptance and social distance in interracial relationships is higher education, primarily student-teacher relationships, have received more attention from authors and researchers than other dynamics of interracial interaction. In a study cited earlier, Dalton (unpublished) concluded that black students distance themselves more from white instructors than black instructors. This preference for or trust of black faculty over white on the part of black students is reflected by recent research which contrasts the attitudes of black students in black and white colleges. Although this survey does not distinguish between black and white faculty, it is reasonable to assume that the faculty in white colleges are predominantly white and vice-versa. Black students in black colleges were twice as likely to indicate that they can talk to their teachers on a friendly, person-to-person basis than were white campus blacks. Also, 63 percent of black students at the black college perceived their teachers as genuinely interested in them as compared to 17 percent on the white campus (Hemmons, 1982). Whether these marked differences are more a function of students' levels of assimilation within the overall environmental setting than of faculty-student interaction in particular has yet to be substantiated by research.

The only research to date relating to white faculty-black student relationships in black colleges was conducted by Charles Levy (1967) at Tuskegee Institute. Levy compared the level of acceptance of white faculty between upper classmen and lower classmen, finding all perceptible differences in the direction of growing unacceptance. The students' appraisals indicated an increasing feeling that the white teacher was working against them. Levy concludes that high credentials of white faculty are not necessarily enough to offset problems arising in their teaching. It should be noted that this study was rather limited in its research design and has neven been replicated so that its conclusions need further substantiation.

Research has not addressed the dynamics of white faculty's interaction with black faculty or administrators, so that the aspects of social distance present in these relationships is speculative. The earlier descriptions related to stereotypes of white faculty by blacks indicate the presence of perceived barriers between black and white. Also, white faculty may lack the depth of experience in interacting with blacks and the understanding of black perspectives which contribute to their open social interaction in this setting.

Value Dimensions

Several authors have discussed value differences affecting black-white interaction within the black college, although no research has addressed this variable. In relation to value dimensions associated with social class, a class differential exists between students at black colleges and faculty, both white and black. More than 60 percent of students at black colleges come from low-income families. (Sims, 1976:157) According to Napper (1973) some black students' embracing certain "black norms" characteristic of lower class language, dress, etc., and a "gettin over" philosophy related to education runs counter to the socialization of older black faculty and white faculty as well. Other authors in writing about black colleges have described the nature of the gap which exists

between teachers and students as due to social class values. The faculty as a whole is middle class in values and very success-oriented; so that they have difficulty understanding what they perceive as academic apathy on the part of many students. This class differential also may influence the relationship of the college to the local black community, in that the black poor may perceive the college people as "snobs" (Thompson, 1973).

Another significant value dimension differentiating many whites and blacks within the black college may be their differing perspectives on race consciousness. The universalisitic view of race described earlier as characterisitic of many white liberals contrasts sharply with the strong race consciousness and particularistic focus characteristic of the black college. Also, in black-white relationships where concerns of racism are inevitable, differences in vocabularies of motives as cited earlier may be significant influences on interactions.

One area of value conflict which the white faculty may experience centers around relationships with minority students and grading. In reference to this conflict, Longres (1973:296) writes: "The attitudinally liberal white faculty member is confronted with non-white students whom he frequently perceives as 'disadvantaged' or in some way inferior. When problems arise in classroom assignments, he becomes intimidated and fearful of treating the problem directly. Not wanting to appear like a 'bad guy,' paternalistic behavior follows." To a larger extent, paternalistic behavior in white faculty may be aggravated by their own fear of being labeled racist. In his analysis of black college students, Napper (1973) describes the tactic used by some black students to intimidate certain white professors into giving them good grades by accusations of racism, a label which the professor will go to great lengths to resist.

## SUBSTANTIVE AND METHODOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

In summary, factors relating to several levels of influences may be significant in shaping the role of white faculty in a black college setting and in

influencing their relationships with black students, colleagues, and administrators. The dynamics previously cited as well as other factors proposed as significant influences at the individual, group, organizational, and community levels are incorporated in the matrix below.

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Insert Table I

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In terms of the individual, it would seem that their socialization relating to racial attitudes and the extent and quality of their experiences in interacting with blacks prior to coming to the college would be primary influences. Also, their particular ideology about race would affect their ability to understand the particularistic perspective of the black college. Personality qualities such as self-awareness, openness and honesty, style of relating, and self-confidence will shape their interactions with black colleagues and their ability to understand others' perspectives. Also, individuals vary in their ability to handle constructively both internal and external conflicts resulting from socio-cultural dissonance. It seems that those persons who were more inner-directed would experience less ongoing tension related to their discrepant position as a marginal man.

Since small groups serve as the bridge between the individual and large social systems, the interpersonal dynamics operating in the immediate work group of white faculty would affect their perceptions and experiences. It would be this group of individuals who would assist in socializing the white faculty. The genuineness and trust achieved in interactions at this level may be most critical in determining white faculty's ultimate adjustment and satisfaction in their role. Obviously, these interactions within the work group would be influenced by the characteristics of all individual members.

TABLE I

Matrix of Factors Influencing Adjustment of White Faculty

| | Cultural/Historical | Social/Interpersonal | Psychological |
|---|---|---|---|
| Individual | White faculty's experience related to interracial contact | Style of relating, particularly in interracial situations; honesty and openness in acknowledging own and others racial attitudes and feelings | Racial identification, ideology; understanding of particularistic vs. universalistic focus |
| Small Group | Black faculty's experience related to interracial contact; interracial dynamics of relationships with individuals in immediate work group | Congeniality, trust, and degree of social distance present in interaction in immediate work group and with students | Personal comfort/ security in dealing with racial factors and ambiguities; ability to separate racial from non-racial factors in situations |
| Organization | Historical factors shaping development of college; roles of individuals of both races in college's historical development | Style of college governance; integration of white faculty within total organization to utilize their expertise and achieve optimal involvement | White faculty's comfort with style of governance; achievement orientation in relation to availability of external rewards |
| Community | Interracial relations within community over time; institution/ community relations | Degree of fit between attitudes of whites in community, friendship, and family groups and attitudes of blacks in work setting | White faculty's ability to deal with conflicts of marginal man; more inner-directed than other-directed |

At the organizational level, the historical events leading up to the contemporary interracial climate within the college are variables to be considered. In some colleges, blacks founded and have administered the college through the years, and the employment of white faculty has been a relatively recent occurrance. For example, in several Southern states the employment of white faculty in black colleges was legally prohibited as late as the mid-1960's (McGrath, 1965: 116). Other black colleges were dominated by whites from their inception and never had a black college president until recent years. Also, various aspects relating to institutional governance may be important influences on white faculty's experiences and adjustment, such as tenure and promotion policies and practices, faculty input and consideration in decision-making, and the general climate or style of authority employed in regulating job performance. Administration in black colleges is an area which has received critical analysis in the writings of numerous authors.

Finally, interracial relations within the community and between the college and community would seem to impact on interracial interaction within the college setting. Poor race relations within the community would augment the dissonance and conflict experienced by white faculty in seeking to adapt within the college and community settings. This situation obviously affects the white faculty's experiences with whites in the community, but also it may well affect blacks' perceptions of white faculty. Because they continue to have negative experiences in dealing with the white community at large, they may generalize their feelings of alienation or distrust toward the "white community" to individual white faculty coming to teach in the black college.

It is evident from the paucity of substantial research relating to interracial interaction in the field of higher education and particularly in black colleges that empirical investigation of this pheonmenon is in the ground-breaking stages. Initially, both qualitative and quantitative research which explore

interracial relations within black colleges is needed to identify significant variables influencing interaction in this setting. A recent analysis of directives for qualitative research in interracial interaction emphasizes its dual reality and the need to understand the multiple, often conflicting perspectives involved. The need to identify those factors which reflect the more divisive and the more solidifying aspects of the interracial interaction is stressed. Also, recognition of the linkages between the participants and other audiences or systems as well as the influence of historical events leading up to contemporary situations are crucial aspects of such research (Schmitt, Fox, and Lindberg, 1982). Another author cites the need to use multiple methods in studying interaction in natural settings (Denzin, 1978).

Further research which collectively attempt to address these methodological considerations is needed to delineate more specifically the perceptions that whtie faculty in black colleges have of their role and to determine what variables seem to be most significant in influencing their interaction, adjustment and satisfaction. Although this research to some extent would be particularistic to the black college setting, it would seem that the study of interracial relationships in a predominantly black setting would provide unique theoretical insights on contemporary minority-dominant relations in this country.

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